

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 15041 01 OF 02 181130Z

10

ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 SP-02 INR-05 IO-03 L-01

SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 EB-03 CU-02 COA-01

RSC-01 /055 W

----- 012233

O R 180940Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6093

INFO AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PHONOM PENH

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 15041

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, UNGA, XB

SUBJECT: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS; VICE FONMIN HAN'S VISIT TO JAPAN

REF: TOKYO 14704

SUMMARY: DURING PRC VICE FONMIN HAN'S CURRENT VISIT TO TOKYO, PRC-JAPAN BI-LATERAL RELATIONS MADE SOLID STRIDES FORWARD. SHIPPING AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED AND PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATIONS ON PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY BEGAN. AGREEMENT REACHED TO OPEN CONSULATES IN OSAKA AND SHANGHAI. IN EXCHANGE WITH VICE FONMIN TOGO ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, HAN FOLLOWED STANDARD PEKING LINES ON KOREA, INDOCHINA AND AGAINST SUPERPOWERS. THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF EASING OF PRC'S LINE TOWARD USSR. IN DISCUSSION SINO-US  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 15041 01 OF 02 181130Z

RELATIONS, HAN ADOPTED POSITIVE TONE BUT CHOSE TO BRING UP

TAIWAN QUESTION AND STATED THAT ALTHOUGH ALL HOPED FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF TAIWAN ISSUE, BECAUSE OF UNPREDICTABLE EVENTS OF FUTURE, RESOLUTION BY FORCE COULD NOT BE RULED OUT. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF CHINA DIV DEP DIRECTOR OGURA BRIEFED EMBOFF NOV 18 ON PRC VICE FONMIN HAN NIEN-LUNG'S CURRENT VISIT TO JAPAN. HAN MADE COURTESY CALLS ON PM TANAKA, FINMIN OHIRA, TRANSPORTATION MIN ETO, LDP SECY GENERAL NIKAIDO AND FONMIN KIMURA. HE DELIVERED LETTER FROM CHOU EN-LAI TO TANAKA, WHICH CONTAINED SALUTATIONS, NOTHING SUBSTANTIVE. IN THREE SESSIONS WITH VICE FONMIN TOGO WIDE RANGE OF BI-LATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED.

2. BI-LATERAL MATTERS. FONOFF CONCLUDES HAN'S VISIT MARKS SUBSTANTIAL FORWARD STRIDE IN PRC-JAPAN BI-LATERAL RELATIONS. CHINESE HAVING ACCEPTED JAPANESE ARGUMENTATION ON INAPPROPRIATENESS OF REFERENCE TO TAIWAN IN SHIPPING AGREEMENT, HAN AND TOGO SIGNED AGREEMENT NOV 13. SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF TIME WAS SPEND IN DISCUSSION OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY. BOTH AGREED TREATY SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON FUTURE AMICAL RELATIONS RATHER THAN DEAL WITH TERMINATION OF WAR, INDEMNITIES, ETC. CHINESE PROPOSED AND JAPANESE AGREED THAT ARTICLE 6 OF 1972 JOINT COMMUNIQUE PROVIDES BASIC OUTLINE FOR CONTENTS OF PEACE-FRIENDSHIP TREATY DESIRED. (ARTICLE 6 EXPRESSES BROAD PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, RESPECT FOR UN CHARTER PRINCIPLES, ETC.) HAN CONFIRMED THAT SENKAKU ISSUE SHOULD BE SET ASIDE FOR PURPOSES OF TREATY. OGURA SAID IT WAS UNCLEAR WHETHER CHINA WILL INSIST ON FURTHER JAPANESE STATEMENT ON TAIWAN EITHER IN TREATY OR THROUGH SEPARATE DOCUMENT, BUT IF THEY MAKE SUCH A DEMAND NEGOTIATIONS COULD DRAG ON FOR MONTHS OR YEARS. DURING DISCUSSION, HOWEVER, JAPANESE HAD IMPRESSION THAT CHINESE WOULD NOT MAKE TAIWAN ISSUE AN INSURMOUNTABLE BARRIER TO TREATY. JAPANESE PROPOSED THAT TREATY NEGOTIATIONS BE HELD IN TOKYO, THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. CHINESE AGREED TO DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL NEGOTIATIONS BUT DEFERRED RESPONSE ON SITE. OGURA SAID IT IS THEORETICALLY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 15041 01 OF 02 181130Z

POSSIBLE AND PERHAPS PROBABLE THAT PEACE-FRIENDSHIP TREATY WILL BE CONCLUDED BEFORE THE FISHERIES AGREEMENT.

3. REGARDING OTHER AGREEMENTS, CHINESE SAID THEY NEEDED A FEW MORE MONTHS FOR PREPARATIONS BEFORE RESUMING FISHERY AGREEMENT TALKS. DURING CURRENT TALKS, JAPANESE PROPOSED A CONSULAR TREATY, A CULTURAL EXCHANGE AGREEMENT AND TOURIST CRUISE SHIP EXCHANGE (AN IDEA

CHOU EN-LAI BROACHED EARLIER WITH KENZO KONO, UPPER HOUSE SPEAKER, WHICH WOULD FEATURE A CRUISE BY JAPANESE TOURISTS TO SEVERAL CHINESE PORTS.) HAN WAS NEGATIVE TOWARD CONSULAR TREATY AND SHIED AWAY FROM COMMITMENT ON CULTURAL AND CRUISE EXCHANGES. OGURA SURMISED THAT BECAUSE OF CHIANG CHING'S AND OTHER LEFTISTS' INTEREST IN CULTURAL MATTERS, ANY AGREEMENT IN THESE AREAS WOULD BE SENSITIVE AND REQUIRD BROADER APPROVAL IN CHINA. OGURA ASSUMED THAT HAN'S HESITANCE STEMMED FROM THIS PROBLEM.

4. JAPANESE PROPOSED IN MID-SUMMER 1974 ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN OSAKA AND SHANGHAI. CHINESE APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE IN EARLY AUTUMN AND FINAL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED DURING HAN-TOGO MEETINGS. OGURA SAID, LARGELY FOR BUDGETARY REASONS, JAPANESE CONSULATE IN SHANGHAI WILL NOT OPEN UNTIL MID-1975. CHINESE GAVE NO INDICATION OF WHEN THEY MIGHT OPEN CONSULATE IN OSAKA.

5. DURING MEETING WITH TANAKA AND IN ONE OTHER MEETING, HAN VOLUNTEERED THAT AS IN CASE OF WATERGATE, PRC WOULD NOT PLAY STORIES ABOUT TANAKA'S POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES IN CHINA'S DOMESTIC MEDIA.

6. MULTI-LATERAL MATTERS. OGURA DESCRIBED TOGO-HAN EXCHANGE ON MULTI-LATERAL ISSUES AS DISAPPOINTINGLY STANDARD. HAN REPEATED WELL-KNOWN, OFFICIAL POSITIONS ON KOREA, INDOCHINA, AND ME. ON KOREA, TOGO ADVOCATED PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION, DIALOGUE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, ADMISSION BOTH KOREAS TO UN AND RECOGNITION OF SOUTH BY COMMUNIST STATES AND OF NORTH BY NON-COMMUNIST STATES. HAN MERELY SUBSCRIBED TO PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION AND SAID THAT "US SHOULD CEASE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TOKYO 15041 01 OF 02 181130Z

MEDDLING IN KOREAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND WITHDRAW ALL ITS TROOPS FROM KOREA". HAN SAID DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK IN 28TH UNGA WAS A GOOD STEP BUT UNC SHOULD ALSO BE DISSOLVED. ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENTS WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 15041 02 OF 02 181112Z

13

ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 SP-02 INR-05 IO-03 L-01

SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 EB-03 CU-02 COA-01

RSC-01 /055 W

----- 012050

O R 180940Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6094

INFO AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 15041

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

7. ON KHMER, TOGO SAID KHMER UN REPRESENTATION WAS INCORRECT FOCUS FOR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE KHMER PROBLEM. ALL SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON PRESSING FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IN KHMER ITSELF RATHER THAN IN UN. BUT, ACCORDING TO HAN, CRUX OF PROBLEM WAS "US INTER-FERENCE IN KHMER INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN SUPPORT OF LON NOL CLIQUE". RIGID CHINESE RESPONSE LED TOGO NOT TO PURSUE SUBJECT FURTHER.

8. ON VIETNAM, HAN MERELY SAID PARIS PEACE ACCORDS WERE NOT BEING FULFILLED (NOT SPECIFYING BY WHOM) AND THAT PRG WAS FORCED TO FIGHT BECAUSE OTHERS VIOLATED ACCORDS. DESPITE HAN'S CHARGES THAT US INTERFERED IN KOREA, KHMER, ETC., OGURA COULD RECALL NO INSTANCE WHERE HAN USED ABUSIVE TERMS LIKE "US AGGRESSION" OR "US IMPERIALISM".  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 15041 02 OF 02 181112Z

9. HAN ALSO FREQUENTLY RAILED AGAINST THE SUPERPOWERS' MEDDLING AND STRUGGLING WITH EACH OTHER IN ME AND ELSEWHERE. SOVIETS AND "SOCIALIST IMPERIALISM" RECEIVED BRUNT OF HAN'S ATTACK. OGURA SAID HAN'S

INVECTIVE AGAINST SOVIET UNION WAS BITTER AND OFTEN  
SARCASTIC. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF ANY EASING OF  
CHINA'S STAND AGAINST USSR AND NO MENTION DURING TALKS OF PRC'S  
OCTOBER REVOLUTION MESSAGE. THERE WAS NO  
HINT OF ANY BREAKTHROUGH ON BORDER TALKS. VLADIVOSTOK  
SUMMIT WAS NOT BROUGHT UP.

10. DURING RELATIVELY BRIEF DISCUSSION OF SINO-US  
RELATIONS, OGURA NOTED THAT HAN WAS MARKEDLY MORE  
POSITIVE ABOUT US THAN IN DISCUSSION OF KOREA OR THE  
SUPERPOWERS COLLECTIVELY. OGURA DETECTED NO INDICATION  
OF PLEASURE OR DISSATISFACTION WITH PACE OF SINO-US  
NORMALIZATION. DURING DISCUSSION OF PRC-US RELATIONS  
HAN BROUGHT UP TAIWAN. AFTER TOGO SAID TAIWAN ISSUE  
MUST BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS, HAN RESPONDED THAT  
"PROBLEM SHOULD BEST BE RESOLVED THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS,  
AS ALL HOPED, BUT ADDED THAT BECAUSE OF THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF  
FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS, RESOLUTION BY FORCE COULD NOT BE RULED  
OUT."

11. COMMENT: HAN'S VISIT IN ITSELF AND ACHIEVEMENTS DURING  
VISIT REPRESENT SOLID ADVANCEMENT OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.  
WITH VLADIVOSTOK IN MIND, BOTH PEKING AND TOKYO MUST HAVE  
FELT GENUINE SATISFACTION IN THIS WEEK OF DEVELOPMENT IN  
THEIR BI-LATERAL RELATIONS. DESPITE HAN'S DISAPPOINTING  
RIGIDITY IN DISCUSSIONS OF MULTI-LATERAL ISSUES, EXCHANGE  
OF VIEWS ON BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS AND AGREEMENT TO  
FUTURE EXCHANGES AT MINISTERIAL AND VICE-MINISTERIAL  
LEVELS PERMITS JAPAN DIRECT INPUT INTO CHINESE DELIBERA-  
TIONS. THIS MAY EVENTUALLY BE HELPFUL IN LESSENING  
CHINA'S ISOLATION AND MODERATING HER POLICIES. VICE  
VERSA ALSO IS TRUE, SINCE WE CAN EXPECT JAPAN TO  
INCREASINGLY TAKE CHINA'S VIEWS INTO CONSIDERATION  
IN FORMULATING GOJ POLICIES.  
HODGSON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 18 NOV 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CollinP0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974TOKYO15041  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740332-0570  
**From:** TOKYO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19741133/aaaabbqc.tel  
**Line Count:** 257  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** TOKYO 14704  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CollinP0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by CollinP0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS; VICE FONMIN HAN'S VISIT TO JAPAN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, JA, CH, XB, UNGA, (HAN NIEN-LUNG)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005